



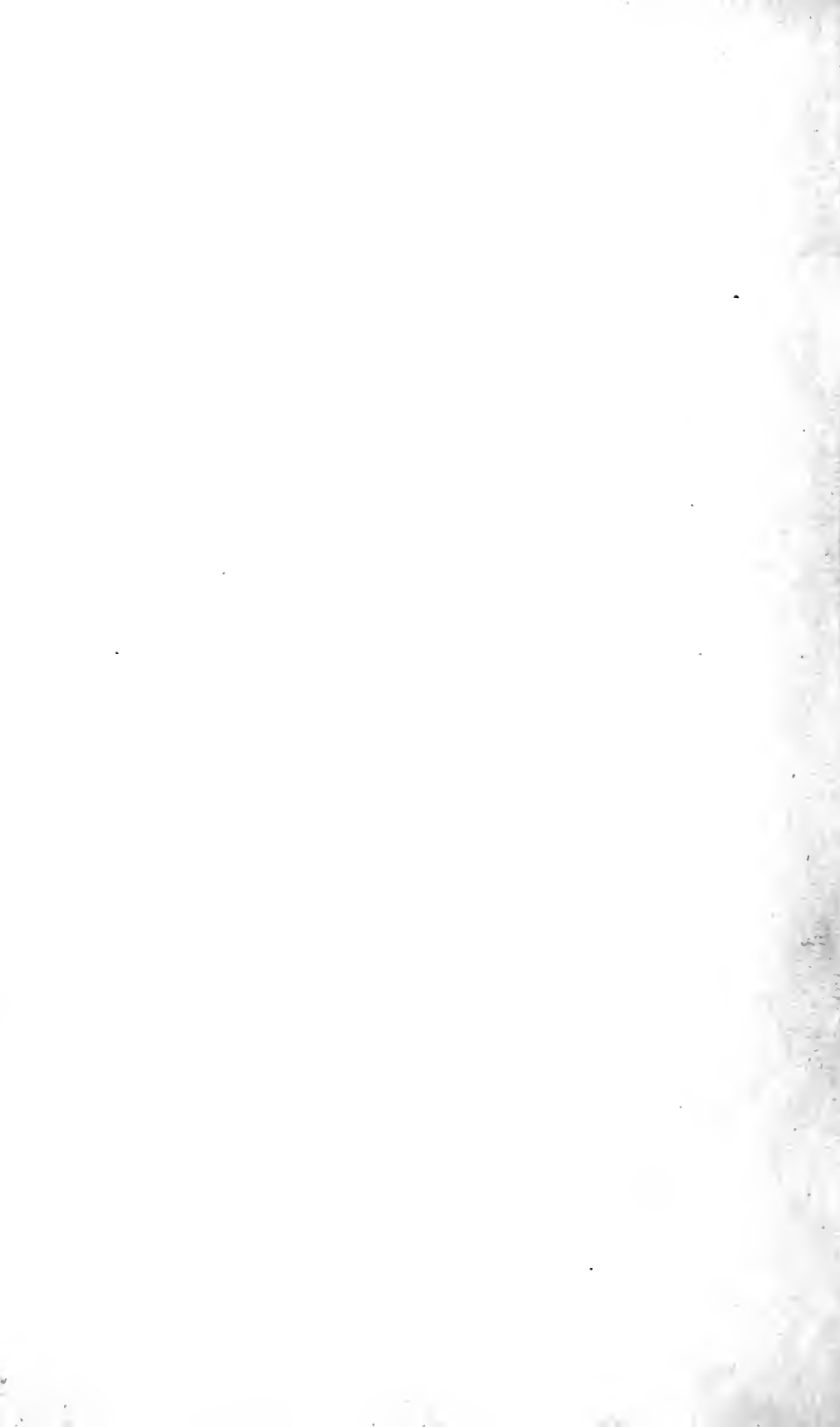
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The Antiquity,
HONOR AND DIGNITY
OF
TRADE.



THE
Antiquity,
HONOR AND DIGNITY
OF
TRADE,
PARTICULARLY AS CONNECTED WITH THE
CITY OF LONDON;
WRITTEN BY A PEER OF ENGLAND,

AND ADDRESSED TO HIS YOUNGEST SON, AS AN INDUCEMENT TO FOLLOW
A MERCANTILE CONCERN.

Westminster :

PRINTED FOR MACHILL STACE, NO. 12, LITTLE QUEEN
STREET, NEAR GREAT GEORGE STREET.

1813.

486516

W. SMITH AND CO.
Printers,
KING STREET, SEVEN DIALS.

Tr. R.
23527

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Manuscript from which this work was printed, came into the proprietor's possession, with a large collection of original letters and state papers, belonging to the Sidney family, of Penshurst, in Kent.

The general title is written on the paper cover, in a different hand to that of the manuscript; who the noble author was does not appear: He was not of the family of Sidney, as the two last peers were brothers, and the name and title ceased in Jocelyn Sidney, the seventh and last Earl; who dying in 1743, without issue, the title of Leicester became extinct.



THE
HONOR AND DIGNITY
OF
TRADE.

AS Trade is the grand object the British Nation has in view, insomuch, that the Speeches from the throne are filled with the royal care for its preservation and support, and the heads of both houses of parliament, are frequently employed to uphold and protect the meanest branches of it. So I think an attempt to shew how honorable commerce has been deemed in all ages and times, in respective flourishing states, is neither a work impertinent nor useless. I shall begin, therefore, this review of commerce, with evidencing the opinion and sentiments, and practice, the Jews held in this matter.

It is on record in ancient story, that at first, commerce consisted in* bartering corn and cattle for other

* See Puffendorf de Leg. lib. 5, cap. 5.

commodities. To this effect, speaks Homer in the Iliad, lib. 6, ver. 45, and which is thus translated by Mr. Pope:

“ For Diomed’s brass arms of mean device,
 “ For which nine oxen paid a vulgar price,
 “ He gave his own of gold divinely wrought
 “ An hundred beeves, the shining purchase bought.”

For which cause also I conceive that when Theseus coined money, as it is noted by Plutarch, he stamped it with an ox; and in his life of Poplicola, he observes that when the use of money was not common among the Romans, their wealth consisted in cattle; so says he after, their estates were called Πεχυλίζ, peculiar from Pecus, *i. e.* cattle, and they stamped on their ancient money an ox, a sheep, or a hog; and, even to this day, in the inland part of Barbary, where coin is not in plenty. Mr. Morgan, in his remarks on the life of Mahomet, tells us, page 27, that there the way of counting their wealth, is, by sheep; a cow goes for ten, an ox for twenty, a breeding mare goes for fifty, or sixty, &c. Thus the trade of the two sons of Adam consisted in these kinds;* Cain being a tiller of the ground, but Abel was a dealer in sheep; to which latter employ, God seems to have given the preference, Gen. chap. iv. And † *Cicero de Officiis* observes, that Cato the elder, being asked what he conceived the fittest way of improving an estate, answered, by feeding cattle well; and which the next replied, to feed cattle indifferently; and which the

* Gen. chap. iv.

† Lib. 2. Ca. 4th edition.

third returned in answer, to feed cattle even badly. It is evident from the 9th chap. 2d book of Chronicles, that king Solomon was a great trader to Tarshish, and that therefore, he surpassed all the kings of the earth in riches and in wisdom, and of this trade, *Josephus* thus speaks:*

“ About this time, Solomon’s ships returned from
“ Ophir, (otherwise called the land of Gold,) with
“ stones for jewels, and pine-wood in abundance; the
“ latter was made use of partly for pillars and sup-
“ porters of the king’s temple and palace; partly for
“ musical instruments, as harps, cymbals, psalteries,
“ and the like, for the Levites to glorify God upon,
“ accompanied with singing. It is to be noted, that
“ Solomom had never seen so fine a wood before,
“ differing greatly from that wood that is called deal
“ in the way of trade betwixt buyer and seller, in
“ nature of the grain of a fig-tree, only whiter and
“ more glossy. I thought it not amiss to note this
“ common mistake, especially being a question that
“ falls so naturally upon this occasion, into Solomon’s
“ story. This plate-fleet brought the king, six hun-
“ dred and sixty-six talents of gold, over and above
“ the merchant’s adventure, and what the governors
“ and kings of Arabia sent him for presents. Of this
“ gold, he caused to be cast two hundred targets,
“ weighing six hundred shekels of gold each, and
“ these he hung in his hall of the Grove of Lebanon.
“ His drinking cups also were of gold, curiously

* Jewish Antiq. lib. 8.

“ wrought, and garnished with precious stones, and
“ his other utensils were of the same metal. There
“ was no trading with money in this case, for the
“ king had his ships in the sea of Tarsus, that
“ dealt upon the truck, with foreign nations, and in
“ exchange for commodities of his own, returned
“ him gold, silver and ivory: to make this voyage
“ and return, took up three years.”

But, as DEAN PRIDEAUX in his connection gives a more ample account of this trade, and even brings it down almost to our own times, I shall, for that cause, though somewhat long, insert it, in his very words, rather than use worse of my own.

“ This trade,” saith the Dean, “ they had long
“ carried on, through the Red Sea, and the straights
“ of Babelmandel; not only to the coasts of Africa
“ on the west, but also to those of Arabia, Persia,
“ and India, on the East; and reaped a prodigious
“ profit from it. King David was the first who began
“ it; for, having conquered the kingdom of Edom,
“ and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he
“ then became master of two sea-port towns on the
“ Red Sea, *Elath* and *Eziongeber*, which then be-
“ longed to that kingdom; and, seeing the advantage
“ which might be made of the situation of these
“ two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and
“ there began this traffic.

“ There are two places mentioned in Scripture,
“ to which it was from thence carried on; that is,
“ Ophir and Tarshish: from the former of these, David

“ in his time, drew great profit. For the three
“ thousand talents of gold of Ophir, which he is
“ said, (1 Chron. chap. xxix. ver. 4,) to have given
“ to the house of God, seems to be of that gold of
“ Ophir, which he himself had by his fleets in several
“ voyages brought to him from thence. For what
“ he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of
“ war, the tribes of the conquered nations, and the
“ public revenues of his kingdom is before mentioned,
“ (chap. xxiv. ver. 14,) and amounting to a prodigious
“ sum. The three thousand talents of the gold of
“ Ophir, which he added, was over and above this,
“ and out of his own proper goods or private estate,
“ which he had beside what belonged to him as king;
“ and how he could increase that so far, as out of that
“ only to be able to give so great a sum, can scarce
“ any other way be accounted for, than by the great
“ returns which were made him from this traffic ; for
“ the gold alone amounted to about one and twenty
“ millions of our money, besides the seven thousand
“ talents of refined silver, which were included in the
“ same gift. After David, Solomon carried on the
“ same traffic to Ophir, and had from thence in one
“ voyage, four hundred and fifty talents of gold ; and
“ if Solomon got so much in one voyage, well might
“ David have gained the sum afore-mentioned, in the
“ several voyages which were made thither for him, from
“ the time that he had subdued the land of Edom, to
“ the time of his death, which was at least twenty-five
“ years. But, it must be acknowledged, that Solomon

“ much improved this trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it; for not being incumbered and perplexed with such wars as his father David was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore, for the better settling of it, he went in person to Elath and Eziongeber, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his ships, the fortifying of both these ports, and the settling of every thing else, which might tend to the successful carrying on of this traffic, not only to Ophir, but to all other parts, where the Sea, on which these ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest care was to plant those two towns with such inhabitants, as might be best able to serve him in this design; for which purpose, he brought thither from the coasts of Palestine, as many as he could get of those who had been there used to the sea, especially of the Tyrians, whom his friend and ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, from thence furnished him with in great numbers, and those were the most useful to him in this affair. For, they being in those days, and for many ages after, the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships and conduct his fleet through long voyages. But the use of the compass not being then known, the way of navigation was, in those times, only by coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade succeeded so far, and grew to

“ so high a pitch under the wise management of Solomon, that, thereby he drew to these two ports, and
“ from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa,
“ Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief
“ fountain of those immense riches which he acquired;
“ and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth,
“ in his time, as much as he did by his wisdom; so
“ that he made silver to be at Jerusalem as the stones
“ of the street, by reason of the great plenty, with
“ which it there abounded, during his reign. After
“ the division of the kingdom, Edom being of that
“ part which remained to the house of David, they
“ still continued to carry on this trade, from those two
“ ports, especially from Eziongeber, which they
“ chiefly made use of till the time of Jehosaphat;
“ but, he having there lost his fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to Ophir, in partnership
“ with Ahaziah, king of Israel, this spoiled the credit
“ of that harbour. For, there being nigh the mouth
“ of it, a ridge of rocks, as this fleet was passing out
“ of the port, they were, by a sudden gust of wind,
“ which God sent on purpose, for this confederacy,
“ driven upon these rocks, where they were all
“ broken to pieces, and lost. And therefore, for
“ the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the
“ station of the king’s ships was thenceforth removed
“ to Elath: from whence Jehosaphat the next year
“ after, sent out another fleet for the same place. For,
“ whereas it is said, that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous king of Israel; and

“ we are told in another place, of his sending forth a
“ fleet from Ophir, in which he would not let Ahaziah
“ have any partnership with him. This plainly proves
“ the sending out of two fleets by Jehosaphat, the
“ first in partnership with Ahaziah, and the other
“ without it; and thus this affair was carried on from
“ the time of David, till the death of Jehosaphat:
“ for till then, the land of Edom was all in the hands
“ of the kings of Judah, and was wholly governed
“ by a deputy or vice-roy there placed by them. But
“ when Jehoram succeeded Jehosaphat, and God for
“ the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness
“ of that prince, had withdrawn his protection from
“ him, Esau, according to the prophecy of Isaac,
“ did break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck,
“ after having served him, (as foretold by that pro-
“ phesy,) for several generations; that is, from the
“ time of David, till then. For on Jehoram’s having
“ revolted from God, the Edomites revolted from him,
“ and having expelled his vice-roy, chose them a
“ king of their own, and under this conduct reco-
“ vered their ancient liberty, and were not after that,
“ any more subject to the kings of Judah. And from
“ this time, the Jewish traffic through the Red Sea,
“ had an interruption till the reign of Uzziah; but he
“ in the very beginning of his reign, having recovered
“ Elath again to Judah, fortified it anew, and having
“ driven out the Edomites, planted it again with his
“ own people, and there renewed their old traffic,
“ which was from thence carried on, and continued

“ till the reign of Ahaz. But then, Rezin, king of
“ Damascus, having in conjunction with Pekah, king
“ of Israel, oppressed and weakened Judah, to that
“ degree which I have mentioned, he took the ad-
“ vantage of it to seize Elath, and driving out the
“ Jews from thence, planted it with Syrians, pro-
“ posing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit
“ of that traffic of the Southern Seas, which the
“ kings of Judah had hitherto reaped by having that
“ port. But the next year after, Ziglath-pilezer
“ having conquered Rezin, and subdued the kingdom
“ of Damascus, he seized with it Elath, as then be-
“ longing to his new conquest, and without having
“ any regard to his friend and ally, king Ahaz, or
“ the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever
“ after, and thereby put an end to all that great
“ profit which the Jews till then had reaped from
“ this traffic, and transferred it to the Syrians,
“ which became a great diminution of their wealth.
“ For although they did not always carry it on with
“ the same full gales of prosperity as in the time of
“ King Solomon, yet it was constantly as long as
“ they had it, of very great advantage to them. For
“ it included all the trade of India, Persia, Africa,
“ and Arabia, which was carried on through the Red
“ Sea. But after Rezin had thus dispossessed them
“ of it, they never had it any more restored to them,
“ but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From
“ thenceforth, all the merchandize that came that
“ way, instead of being brought to Jerusalem, was

“ carried elsewhere. But at what place the Syrians
“ fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in
“ their hands, is no where said. But at length, we
“ find the whole of it engrossed by the Tyrians, who
“ managing it from the same port, made it by the
“ way of Rhinocorura, (a sea-port lying between the
“ confines of Egypt and Palestine) centre all at
“ Tyre; and from thence they furnished all the
“ western parts of the world with the wares of India,
“ Persia, Africa, and Arabia, which thus by the way
“ of the Red Sea they traded to; and hereby they
“ exceedingly enriched themselves, during the Per-
“ sian empire, under the favour and protection of
“ whose kings, they had the full possession of this
“ trade. But, when the Ptolemy's prevailed in
“ Egypt, they did by building Berenice, Myos-Hor-
“ mos, and other ports in the Egyptian or Western
“ side of the Red Sea, (for Elath and Eziongeber
“ lay on the Eastern) and by sending forth fleets
“ from thence to all those countries, to which the
“ Tyrians traded from Elath, soon drew all this
“ trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief
“ mart of it at Alexandria, which was thereby made
“ the greatest mart in all the world, and there it
“ continued for a great many ages after; and all the
“ marine traffic which the western parts of the world
“ from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia,
“ and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly car-
“ ried on through the Red Sea, and the mouth of the
“ Nile, till a way was found, a little above two hun-

“dred years since, of sailing to those parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time managed this, but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the English, and Dutch. And this is a full account of the East India trade, from the time it was first begun by David and Solomon to our present age.”*

The prophet Isaiah † speaking of this trade of Tarshish and Tyre, calls it the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth. And our Lord ‡ himself likeneth the kingdom of Heaven to a merchant-man seeking goodly pearls. And St. John § declares the merchants to be the great men of the earth. And the great apostle so far encourages trade and industry, that he pronounces that those which provide not for their household, deny the faith, and are worse than infidels. || It being thus evident that Solomon lived in greater pomp than any other king, before or since; whose very utensils were gold, and all whose amazing splendour accrued from a flourishing trade; for, of

* Josephus speaks of two brothers, Jews, named Asinaeus and Arilaeus, by trade, weavers, *which trade*, says he, *is accounted no disparagement among those people*, who, by their valour and resolution, made themselves allies of Artabanus, king of Parthia, with whom he cultivated a league, and made them chief directors in Mesopotamia. These men were held in universal esteem by the Jews, till, like Solomon, they were ruined by Arilaeus giving himself up to an idolatrous way, and other vile affections.—Jewish Antiq. ch. xii.

† Chap. xxiii.

‡ Matt. ch. xvii. v. 45.

§ Rev. ch. xviii. v. 23.

|| Tim. ch. v. v. 8.

the extent of the Jewish dominions, St. Hierom thus speaks, “ Quoniam tota Judacorum Regio adeò augusta sit ambitus, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 milliarum, latitudinem verò 40; and in his etiam requires, loca urbes at oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judaeis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa.” Because the whole country of the Jews is scarce in length 160 miles, and in breadth, about 40. From the whole, therefore, of what has been cited, it is very evident, that commerce was well esteemed of among the Hebrews, a people who were under the immediate influence and governance of God; and, therefore, merchandize with them was fitly esteemed a worthy occupation.

And if trade was thus reputable amongst the Jews, it was much more so in Greece, for, as the merchants of the first are stiled princes and nobles, so they became reputed as Gods to the Greeks. Of these, the Tyrians were a people strongly attached to trade. Appian, of Alexandria, says, that Bryga and Carthage, from industry and trade, acquired almost the total dominion of the seas, and made divers conquests, in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, and subdued all Lybia; and this from a little town, whose dominions at first only extended as far as an ox’s hide cut in thongs would reach. App. Bell. lib. c. i.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, * speaking of the city of Tyre, says, for strength and commodity of its harbour,

* Raleigh’s Hist. p. 191.

and the better to receive trade from all places, it was by a new erection founded in an island, seven hundred paces from the continent, and therefore Ezekiel placeth it in the midst of the sea, whence he calleth it situate at the entrance of the sea, and also the same prophet calleth it *the mart of the people of many isles*; and Isaiah, *a mart of the nations*. It excelled both in learning and manufacture, especially in the making and dying of purple and scarlet, which saith Julius Pollux was first found out by Hercules's dog, who, passing along the sea coast, and eating of the fish conchilis, or purpura, the hair of his lips became of that colour. And Loyde, in his *Lexicon de temporum Mythocorum Historia per Generationes Digesta*, gives the following* account of Hercules and the Phenician traders: † At the time, says he, that Deborah and Barak judged Israel, a merchant named Alcides, by origin a Phenician, but born in Beotia, made great voyages, sometimes alone, and sometimes with other merchants, some of whom went in their own bottoms, and some as commissioned by others; he established on all the coasts a great number of colonies, and, as Greece at that time of day was but thinly peopled, it fell out in many places, that these new inhabitants had as much difficulty to defend themselves from wild beasts, as against the

* See Bib. Univer. vol. i. p. 242—also vol. ii. p. 500.

† Mr. Stanyan, in his *Grecian History*, p. 71, very justly observes, that the *Curetes*, certain handicraft Phenician traders, were the inventors of music, and obtained from Minos, the dominion of the Seas.

inclemency of the air; at this time they lived by cattle, and therefore the young men who employed themselves very early to combat with lions and bears; Alcides at eighteen years old killed a lion* on a mountain of Beotia, named Citheron, and which had made great destruction in the flocks of Thespia and Thebes; for this reason the king of Thespia gave him, or his followers, some of his daughters in marriage, and ever after Alcides wore the lion's skin he had killed, in the nature of a cloak; he also killed another lion in the forest of Nenia, which he undertook, by the order of the king of Mycenae, in which country he staid a long time, and there established a colony of merchants or *Heraclides*; these men delivered the country from divers venomous animals, which infested those parts, as the lake of Lurna, from an infinite number of serpents, in which it abounded, and rendered himself still more famous by the slaughter of divers beasts, as the bears of Erymanthus, and of some wild bulls, notwithstanding which it was impossible, that a colony thus newly established in those parts, who over-run the whole country, as well for pasturage as hunting, should not raise up envy in their neighbours; thus in hunting or feeding their cattle, near a mountain in Arcadia, named Pholoc, they quarrelled with a

* This lion hunting seems to have been carried very late down. Sallust mentions it in his Jugurthan war, *ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando, agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferine*. Sall. de Belle. Jug. ch. ii.

people rich in horses and horned cattle, who were called Centaurs,* which being interpreted, signifies *a driver or hunter of bulls*. These people fought on horse-back, whereas the merchants engaged on foot, but, nevertheless were above their match ; for these raw Centaurs were not equal in address to the *Phenicians*, as also because that part of Peloponnesus was full of mountains and forests, and therefore cavalry was of little use. They had also other broils with certain shepherds, that lived at the extremity of Peloponnesus, near to the promontory of Tenedus ; from these they took the dogs† they had brought up to guard their cattle, and which they set upon all such as attacked them ; he also set at liberty some attick prisoners, which these shepherds had taken up as they were endeavouring to kidnap some of the inhabitants.

After this, Alcides leaving his colony in Peloponnesus, returned to Thebes, and from thence to Eubœa upon some concerns where he heard that Euritus had promised his daughter *Iole*, in marriage to him, who could shoot better than himself and sons. Alcides presented himself, and made it appear he was much abler at this exercise than these princes ; but after, they refused him *Iole*, under a pretence that the Phenicians sacrificed their children to appease the anger of the Gods. Nevertheless, *Iphitus*, son of

* Centaurs, of them, vide Ludovicus Vives's notes on the 13th chap. of the 18th book of St. Austin's City of God.

† This story is, by a poetical science, as Lloyd supposes, turned into the fable of Cerberus.

Euritus, contracted a great friendship for *Alcides*, but soon after they quarrelled in going in quest for cattle they had stolen from *Euritus*. *Alcides* killed *Iphitus*; this murder made him take sanctuary with *Deiphobus*, prince of *Amyeles*, a town in *Laconia*, who purified him from his crime, according to the fashion of those days, by plunging him into a river; but after falling sick, he believed that heaven had visited him with this illness, as a punishment for the murder he had committed; for which cause he formed a resolution to visit a famous priest that lived at *Delphi*, to endeavour to learn from him how to clear away this scruple of conscience; but meeting no consolation from the priest, *Alcides* attempted to make himself master of *Delphi* · yet afterwards agreeing with the priest, he learned from him, that to appease his conscience, he should instantly depart from *Greece*, and make some atonement to *Euritus*, father of *Iphitus*, which advice he resolved to follow; but being arrived at the coast of *Asia*, he was taken prisoner by the people of *Omphala*,* queen of *Lybia*, where he remained a captive three years, and from thence escaped with some *Phenician* vessels, and making a descent in *Cappadocia*, he was there opposed by both men and women, all the people being united to drive them out; but having plundered them, he returned

* This story seems to be confounded by *Herodotus* into a certain amphibious monster; half a serpent, and half a virgin, which *Hercules* met with in *Scythia*, and by whom he had three sons. *Vide Herod: Melpomene, lib. 4.*

to *Greece*, with the arms he had taken from those women.

The nearness of *Phrygia*, and the riches of the *Phrygians*, produced a desire in the *Phenicians*, to seize some port of theirs, advantageously situated for carrying on a trade with *Troy*, and to establish themselves there. For this purpose they equipped a fleet of eighteen vessels of fifty oars each, and sailing under the conduct of *Alcides*, landed at the most convenient place they could find, and there maintained a footing for some time; but intestine divisions soon putting an end to this enterprize, they left this place therefore with all their fleet, and arrived at the Isle of *Cos*, where being taken for pirates, they could not refresh themselves, but by making a descent,* sword in hand. *Alcides* returning from thence into *Greece*, he was anew engaged in divers wars, in order to maintain his colony in *Peloponnesus*, of which *Appollodorus* gives an exact account, lib. 2. ch. vii. After this he died in a mountain of *Thessaly*, named *Octa*, and his body was burnt after the fashion of the country, and he was ranked in the number of the Gods,† from his great actions.

This famous merchant made not these voyages by himself, one man could not accomplish such great enterprizes, but the honor of them was attributed to

* Being here opposed by the women as well as men, from hence it is conceived, arises the supposed history of his subduing the *Amazons*.

† De *Hercule Tyrio*, see *Herodotus*, lib. 2. ch. lxiv.

him, as being the chief; besides the name of *Alcides* which he had from his birth, he was called, by way of excellence, *Harokel*, from whence the *Greeks* called him *Ἡρακλῆς*, *Heracleis*, and the *Latins*, *Hercule*, a *Phenician* word, signifying merchant.

In the above account we may find an easy explanation of the labours of *Hercules*, which are so elegantly disguised by the Poets. But, in effect, *Alcides* did nothing more, (as has been shewn) than to establish *Phenician* colonies, and a flourishing trade. The *Greeks*, indeed, embellished his history, and made at length, a *God* and destroyer of monsters of a man, who had never any other view than to aggrandize his country, and to enlarge its commerce; for this reason, the *Greeks* and *Romans*, both esteemed him the *God* of gain and trade, from whence it often happened, that they devoted to him the tenth part of their profits.*

But he was not the only merchant of *Beotia*, that became famous in *Greece*; I am yet to speak of the actions and voyages of other *Tyrian Hercules's*, or *Merchants*, with which is confounded the actions of this *Hercules*, from a similitude of circumstances. It was another *Tyrian* merchant that first ventured into the extremity of the *Mediterranean*, and landed in *Spain*, in an island the *Phenicians* called *Gades*,

* *Armis Herculis adpostem fixis.*—Horace, *Epist. i.* The learned *Dacier* observes on this line, that the Ancients dedicated the implements of their trade to this God, when they had left it off, or had done with it.—*Dac. Horace*, vol. viii. p. 28.

which was possessed by three Shepherds' families which they drove away, after having plundered them of their cattle; at length they passed the straits of * Merchants, and went into Africa, but he dared not launch too far out into the Ocean. On his return to Phenicia, he reported he had sailed as far as Spain, which he believed the farthest part of the earth; all that he did in Spain, was to establish a colony at the mouth of the *Beotis*, which he called *Thapsus*, from a name well known in Phenicia;† from thence he returned into Africa, where he made some descents on different places, in order to furnish himself with necessaries. At the same time, divers Phenician *Hercules's* or Merchants, seized on cattle in Arabia, in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and at Rhodes; and this with ill judgment is attributed to him that founded the pillars at *Gades*. Some other Phenician *Hercules's* or Merchants, coasted on Italy and Gaul, and the profession they followed, has confounded them with more ancient Merchants of Phenicia; and, of these, through length of time, some have imagined a single person, but others better read in ancient history, have

* From hence also came the name of divers other places, as *Hercula Via*, the way between the Avernan lake and the Sea. And *Herculeum Tiber*, the city *Tivoli*, in *Italy*. *Herculis insula* in *Sardinia*. *Herculis farum*, in *Etruria*; and as the *Phenicians* traded here for *Tin* anciently, so we have remains of this sort with us, as *Herculeum promontarium*, or Hertsland's point in *Devonshire*; also *Herey point*, and *Hortland point*, in *Cornwall*; and perhaps from thence our name *Herey*, or *Henry*, is derived, signifying of old trading men, or merchants, or men rich in goods.

† *Αανδρὸς γαλίου*. Quodundis mersa quom admodo sepulta Videatur.

judged to be divers considerable persons to whom the name of *Hercules** has been given, without considering the meaning of the name, confounding as a proper name, what only signified a profession.

From what has been said, it is evident, that commerce was esteemed honourable in *Greece*; however, I shall add an instance or two more from ancient authors, to enforce the truth of this matter.

PLUTARCH, in his life of *Sylla*, mentions one *Archelaus*, a merchant's, being publicly employed to make peace between the *Romans* and *Mithridates*; and in his life of *Solon*, takes notice, that *Solon's* father had ruined his estate, in doing acts of kindness to other men; and for that cause, though he had friends both sufficient and able to support him, yet being ashamed to be beholden to others, as coming of an illustrious family, who had been used to do kindness rather than receive any, he applied himself to merchandize in his youth. In those days, says he, according to *Hesiod*, it was no shame for a man to work, nor did a trade make any difference in quality, for merchandize was a very honourable profession,

* Quamquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus, scire sale velim plures enim tradunt nobis ii qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas litteras; antiquissimum, Jove natum, sed antiquissimo item Jove, nam Joves quoque plures in priscis Graecorum litteris invenimus, ex eo igitur, et aiyto est is Hercules, quem concerta visse cum Apolline de tripode accessimus alter traditur Nilo natus Ægyptius; quem ajunt Phrygias litteras conscripsisse. Tertius est ex Idæis digitis; cui inferias affeant Quartus Jovis et Astæriæ, Latonæ sororis, qui Tyri maxime colitur; cujus Carthaginem filiam ferunt. Quintius, in India, qui Belus dicitur. Cicero Verburg. p. 1114.

which brought home the good things that barbarous nations enjoyed, was the occasion of friendship with their kings, and the mother of experience in many kinds. Some merchants, says he, have built great cities, as the founder of *Massilia*, that man so much esteemed among the *Gauls*, that live about the *Rhone*. Others also report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates*, the mathematicians, traded; and *Plato* defrayed the expense of his travels, by selling oil in *Egypt*. In Athens,* trade was in such repute, that no man was obliged to maintain his father, unless he had brought him up to *one*, as *Plutarch* notes in his life of *Solon*, and elsewhere,† he maintains that idleness was publicly punished, insomuch, that a *Lacedemonian* being at *Athens*, when suffered for sloth, desired the company to shew him the man that was condemned for living like a gentleman. By following this rule, there was none begged at *Athens*. In those days,

* *Plutarch*, Vit. *Lycur*.

† *Potter* observes that *Solon* divided the Athenians in four ranks, according to every man's estate: viz. First. Those who could with their dry and wet commodities, fill five hundred of their measures, he placed in the first order or degree, and called them *Pentucosio medimnoi*. Second. Those who were of ability to furnish out a horse, or could fill three hundred of their measures, he called *Hippadotountes*. The third class consisted of those who could fill two hundred measures, which were called *Zeugitæ*; and the fourth and last he called *Thetæ*. So it is evident at *Athens*, men owed their nobility merely to their wealth.—*Potter*, p. 14. *Algernon Sidney* observes that the Athenians were inclined to war, but applied themselves to trade, as subservient to that end, by increasing of the people, furnishing them with the means of carrying it on, with more vigour and power.—*Sidney on Gov.* p. 142.

says *Isocrates*, there were none that died of want or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community. And, in *Lucian's parasite*, *Tyquiades* asks Simon how it came to pass, that all mankind, gentle and simple, bond and free, betook themselves to some profession, whereby to become useful in their generation, whilst he alone was without any occupation in the world. And *Cleon*, the cotemporary and rival of *Nicias*,* the Athenian general, is said by *Ludovicus Vives*† in his notes on *St. Augustine's city of God*, “to be by trade, a leather-seller, although “he was a great general,‡ and a leading person in “Athens.” From whence it should appear, that all degrees of men in *Greece* were brought up to some trade or calling, as they are even to this day in *Turkey*.

As to the *Romans*, it is very certain that trade was held in good repute with them, for *Livy* § observes, that *Flaminius*, the consul, was hated by the nobility, because he obtained a decree, that no senator, or father of a senator, should keep a bark of above eight tons burthen, for this was esteemed large enough to transport their grain from their farms, and was done with a view to hinder their trading. || However, it

* Vide *Plut. vita Nicias*—also *Thucydides*, lib. 4. and 5.

† *City of God*, cap. 9.—notes, letter (d)

‡ *Στεῦαρνος*, the magistrate, to whose jurisdiction the levying and mustering of soldiers was committed. See *Thucydides*, lib. 4.

§ *Lib. 21. ch. 63.*

|| In time, the senators got the better of this law. Tully particularly mentions *Lentulus*, a branch of the illustrious family of the

is on record, that the matter was debated with great warmth, and was the cause of much hatred in the nobility to *Flaminius*, though it procured him the people's love. From whence it may be gathered, that till that time it was usual for the *nobles of Rome* to trade; and that they even at last parted with this goodly privilege to the *commons*, with no small reluctance. Notwithstanding which, *Cicero*,* who was a Roman senator, gives his sentiments very fully on this subject. "*As for merchandize,*" says he, "*it is sordid and mean, when the trade that is driven is little and inconsiderable; but when the dealings are large,† and goods are brought home, to sell them again without lying or deceiving, we can hardly say but it is creditable enough; nay, it is most certainly very commendable, when those who are concerned in it, only design (after they are sated, or rather contented with what they have gained) to return to the country, as before they betook themselves to the Haven.*" There is one thing very remarkable in the last distinction of this great man, which is, that it exactly tallies with what

Cornelii, to have been master of the long ship, in which he had promised Cicero to bring to Rome, certain statues, Atticus had purchased for him. *Lentulus naves suas pollicetur*. Perhaps, as the senators very unwillingly parted with the privilege of trading, so in time, the law was looked upon as obsolete, and therefore not heeded. See Mongault's two notes in Tully's fifth letter to Atticus.

* Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. ch. 42.

† If carrying on a great trade is commendable, why has not a man's trading, as much as he is able, also its degree of merit?

the prophet Isaiah * lays down as a fit rule in such a case:—" *And her merchandize and her hire, shall be holiness to the Lord; it shall not be treasured or laid up, for her merchandize shall be to eat sufficiently, and for durable cloathing.*" The meaning of which is, that merchandize should be so far prosecuted, as to obtain a competent† estate to be enjoyed, and not merely pursued for covetousness, and heaping up useless sums.

It may not be amiss here to note, that what *Tully* observes of *lying* in trade, is undoubtedly a fit and worthy remark; and any commerce so followed, cannot fail of being dishonourable. The ancient *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes in his *Clio*, lib. i. held the affirming of a falsehood, as a most infamous thing; "for which cause," says he, "to be in debt, is for many reasons, the next degree of disgrace; because they think such a state is always exposed to the necessity of lying." But whether men in trade, or men out of trade, are now-a-days most liable to the last named necessity, I leave to others to determine.

* Isaiah, ch. 23. v. 18.

† *L'Apotre St. Jaques*, suppose manifestement, qu'on peut *abandonner* côté et d'autres, pour *negocier et gagner*. ch. 4. v. 13, 14. C'est donc une chose indifferente en elle-même, de sorte que, comme on peut trafiquer ou innocemment, on d'une maniere contraire a quelque vertu; il n'y a non plus rien de lovable, à s'abstenir du négoce, à moins que ce ne soit pour ne pas donner prise à l'avidité insatiable du gain, à laquelle on se sent quelque disposition, ou pour éviter quelque autre tentation dangereuse.—See *Barbeyrac's Grotius*, lib i. cap. 2. not. 19.

SUETONIUS TRANQUILUS, in his life of Augustus, * tells us, that his great grandfather, was a tribune in the army, and was by trade a *rope-maker*, † which might be, as all the Roman ‡ citizens were obliged to serve in the army, and that the son of this *rope-maker* § and tribune was a banker, and grand-

* Vit Octavius, ch. ii.

† Proavum ex provat restanem arum argentarium; and from this pasquil Pater Argentaries, ego Corintharius, ch. lxx.

‡ However the appellation of citizen is at present taken in *France* and *Italy*, yet it is certain the old *Romans* preferred that title to all others, and looked on any man as an upstart, who was not born in the city of *Rome*. Thus *Paterculus* describing *C. Marius*, to be of low birth and vulgar, uses natus agresti loco. Vell. Pat. lib. ii. ch. xi. edit. Lim. 1710. Some editions have it Equestri loco, but I think this is most natural, as it is used by *Tully*, to signify a clownish, coarseish people.—Qui homines tam agrestes, 2 Philip, 33. And *Ammianus Mercellinus* speaking of the Roman pride, uses these words: “*Nunc vero inanes flatus quorundam, vile esse quidquid extra “urbis promacrium nascitur.*” A. Mer. lib. xiv. ch. vi.—Also *Themestius*, p. 129. And *Tully*, as we find in *Middleton’s Life of Cicero*, p. 4, was reckoned a new man, merely from not being born in *Rome*. Thus the term of *cit*, was then a denomination of great honour, which, at this time of day, in those countries, is a term of reproach, which shews that distinctions not built on reason, vary and change; whereas virtue and honour, both then and now, is the fixed criterion whereby to measure true nobility.

§ The citizens of *London*, may also as well be considered in the capacity of traders and soldiers, and although at present their prowess is become contemptible through long disuse, yet I would have those consider who are disposed to make a jest of such *fighters*, that when they were used by *Essex*, against the king’s regular troops at *Edgehill*, that there the city militia routed all the king’s regular forces, and that afterwards these very men, under *Cromwell*, conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and kept the world in awe. The famous Machiavel, has, in his art of war, a chapter in defence of train-band soldiers, and, whose excellence, he in the end, sums up in these words:—“Nor can there be a better way of forming a militia, than that which I have prescribed. If you have read the

father of *Augustus*. And *Ammianus Mercellinus*, in his 18th book, chap 5. speaks of one *Atoneies*, a rich merchant, who held divers posts of honour in the army under *Constantius*. We also find in the 27th book of *Ammianus's* History, chap. 3. that one *Terentius*, a baker by trade, was made governor of a city, and afterwards of Armenia, lib. 27. chap. 3. and 12. And trade seems to be so much in vogue in those days, that we read in the life of the emperor *Theophilus*, that his wife the empress *Theodora*, used to traffic; and the emperor seeing one of her ships enter the port of *Constantinople* richly laden, ordered it to be burnt, telling his wife he would have her know he was an emperor, and no merchant.*

Sallust observes that *Marius* was appointed general in the *Jugurthan war*, in disfavour of *Metellus*, the consul, at the desire of *Gauda*, and the Roman knights and merchants that were at *Utica*.—Bell. Jug. c. 184.—*Scaurus*, born of an illustrious family in Rome, got his bread by selling of coal: this trade of his was nevertheless no impediment whatever to his being more than once chosen consul, and after censor.—See *Letters de Cicero*, vol. i. p. 67. note 99.—See also *Aurel. Corrial. Victoris libellum de Viris illustribus*.

“orders of the first Roman kings, especially of *Servius Tullius*, you will find his orders like ours, and driving at nothing more than putting the citizens in such a posture, that upon any emergency, they might be brought suddenly together, and formed into an army for the defence of the city.”—*Machiav. Art of War*, ch. vii.

* Vide *Echard's Hist. contin.* vol. v. p. 40.

It is also evident from the example of *Alfenus*, mentioned by *Horace*, in his *Third Satire*, that people of the meanest trades might, by their intrinsic merit, aspire to the highest offices in *Rome*. For *Alfenus* being a *shoe-maker* at *Cremona*, in *Italy*, or as some say, a *barber*, but as *Bentley* says, *Certe utrum Sutor et Tonsor preerit Alfenus*, which *Alfenus*, a man of so mean a trade, found no obstacle therefrom, in a country, where merit was the criterion of true nobility, to rise as he did to be consul, is past any doubt; for in *Rome*, as with us, the senate was open to worth, for that practizing a mean trade is no bar to the peerage here, is evident in the example of the late Lord *King*, who followed the trade of a *grocer*, in *Exeter*; which I mention, as I think it to be the greatest exemplification of his merit, and as to my argument, a proof expressly in point, that following a trade is no bar to rising to the first rate honours. Another instance out of *Horace*, may also be given in proof of the *Romans* not despising trade; what I mean, is the account of the quarrel, between *Rupilius*, *Satire 7.* and one *Persus*, of whom he says, *Hic per magna negotia dives habebat clazomenis*. If, therefore, this man's being a trader had been held in any dishonour on that account in *Rome*, there is no doubt, but *Rupilius*, in his wrath, would have upbraided him on that score; whereas, though *Horace* enumerates *Rupilius's* great spleen against him, yet he never touches on this head; which he undoubtedly would have done, if trading had been any scandal in

those days. Nay, trading was in so high repute with the Romans, that Cicero remembers them, that they often made war with foreign nations for misusing their merchants. *Majores vestri saepe mercatoribus, ac na vricula toribus injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt*; prolege *Man. ii.*: and afterwards, in order to invite them to war, he bids them take care of the interest of the industrious traders in Asia, whose ruin would be attended with that of the republic, *ib. 18.* and in his defence of King Dejotanus, he puts it out of all doubt who those traders were; by affirming, that king protected all the Roman magistrates and ambassadors; which, says he, is well known to the Roman *knights*, that *trade* in Asia: *tum ob equitibus Romanis, qui in Asia, negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita.*—*Pro Rege Dejotario ix. 26. edit. Verbürg.* And elsewhere he says,* that access to the senate was open to the *industry* and *virtue* of every private citizen of the republic.† We learn also from *Petronius Arbiter*, in the person of the countryman speaking to *Eumalpus*, after the shipwreck and burial of

* *Deligerentur autem in Consilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium, civicum industriæ ac virtuti pateret.* Cic. p. sext. 65.

† I am not ignorant that when the *Romans* gave laws to the senate of the *Halexini*, a people of Sicily, they would not allow them to trade; but this being a foreign law, is no disproof of men in trade being admitted at times into the Roman senate, as has been shewed in divers instances; besides, they might have one rule for themselves and another for their neighbours, as we *English* are glad to trade in divers things and to many places, where we do not permit the *Irish* the same liberty.

the merchant, *Lycas*, that traders were never ranked in the class of liars or cheats:—"Alas," says he "if ye be traders, seek some other quarter, or change your calling! But if ye be persons of greater quality, and know how to lie and cheat, you may flourish in this city, where neither learning nor eloquence, nor purity of manners is observed; but where men are divided into two classes, the cheaters and the cheated." *

And even at this time, the *Florentines*, a people not the least considerable in *Italy*, and who are not at all behind hand with their neighbours in pride, in general trade. "*The nobility of Florence*," says Shippen,† "have every one some profession, either merchandizing, selling of silk, &c. they are only despisers of Physicians, yet every family hath a Physician and Lawyer, with whom they agree at an annual rate; the ordinary fee for a Lawyer is about half-a-crown, but some English Merchants have brought in a bad custom of giving more, as a Pistole at a time. Every Gentleman and Nobleman, sells wine out by the flask, which is signified by hanging over the door a nicker bottle or flask; and there is a little port hole, in the gate or wall, where they take in and give out bottles." ‡ This account I know to be true, having seen it in my travels, and yet these men make more

* See more fully in *Petro. Sat.* p. 114, Paris edit. vol. ii.

† See collection of *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 440, 441.

‡ Remarks on the Grand Tour of France and Italy, p. 235, by a person of quality.

racket about their nobility, than all the world besides. The only trade of Lucca is in silk, and they are famous for an extraordinary crimson dye, in satins, and it is so advantageous that the nobility, (who are forbid all mechanic trades,) are not ashamed to traffic this way (nor which appeared to me most scandalous) to sell wines at their palaces. The Count D'Elei à Siennes, in his Life of Cardinal John Baptist Spinola, observes, that his father, the Count of Pezzuola, was a Banker, and a noble of Genoa, and that the said Cardinal used to merchandize in corn; from hence it should seem, that all degrees of people may traffic in *Italy*; and at *Naples*, another large city in *Italy*, it is not uncommon for *Dukes* to have *counting-houses*.

HAVING thus shewn what the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* thought on this matter, I shall proceed to examine on what footing of honor, it stood with our ancestors, and how it now is, or should be esteemed by us. To begin then with our legislative power, there is no *body* of people who have so large a share allotted in it as traders; our House of Commons consists of *Knights* and *Burgesses*; but the former who are to consider the landed interest, are but few in comparison of the latter; there is for no county* more than two allowed, for many only one; but in every county in England, most trading towns send

* The Counties send eighty Knights; the Cities, fifty Citizens; and the Boroughs, three hundred and thirty-four Burghers. Vide Debates of the House of Commons, from 1733 to 1741, p. 13, also Dugdale's Antient usage of Arms, p. 164.

one, or more Burghers to Parliament, to look to their trading interest ; and these the law, (which is termed right and reason) intends to be such in the respective *towns* as live there, and who understand the interest, and are concerned in the benefit of the manufacture, established in that *Burg** or *Town*, they are chose for ; and not strangers, who perhaps are too often elected for their money. This was the just scheme of our wise ancestors, and doth evidently prove how high a value is set on trade by us : nor is this all, for I doubt not, but most fairly to shew, that trade doth neither by the laws of the land or honor, in the least detract from gentility ; but, on the contrary, that great traders have frequently been admitted by our princes, into the upper House of Parliament ; that they have been appointed Privy-Councillors for their wisdom, and have been created not only Knights, but Baronets, Knights of the Garter and Bath, Bannerets, Barons, and Earls, which doth fully demonstrate that trading was not only formerly, but is even *now* also, of the greatest consequence to

* In the Proclamation for calling a Parliament, in 1620, advice is given, first to cast their eyes on Knights and Gentlemen, that are a light and guide in their Country ; then on eminent *lawyers*, and *substantial citizens* and *burgesses*, such as are interested and *have portion in the estate*, and not to disvalue and disparage the House with *Bankrupts* and necessitous persons, that want long Parliaments only for protection, lawyers of mean account and estimation, young men that are not ripe for grave consultations, mean dependants on great persons, that may be thought to have their voice under their command, and such like obscure and inferior persons.—Lord Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 707.—See also the Statute, the first of Henry V. chap. i.

the English nation; and never did, or can, by our laws or customs detract from any man or family; but, on the contrary, that a great part of our nobility are immediately descended from great traders.

VERSTEGAN, the English *Antiquary*, mentions in his Titles of honor* that, in old times, if a merchant† so thrived, that he was able to cross the Seas thrice, he was ever after reputed a right worthy *Thein*, and capable of higher advancement; so that from hence it appears, that traffic at that time of day ennobled its followers who were not so before. Nor let any one conceit it to be a new or extraordinary matter, that wealth alone should entitle a man to honor; since it was of old, a law in the most flourishing states, among the *Romans*, the *Census Senatorius*, or estate of a Senator was fixed by *Augustus*‡ at one hundred and twenty thousand Sesterces, and he who had one hundred thousand Sesterces, was ranked as a *Decurio*§ or kind of Senator in the Provinces, as *Pliny* || observes in his

* Page 367.

† It is a just observation of *Valerius Maximus*, that as inferior people pay to the noble, the due tribute of their birth, so the nobility should repay it, by endeavouring to advance their inferiors: *Nam ut humilitas amplitudinem Venerari, debet ita nobilitati forenda magis quam sperrenda bona indolis novitas est.*—*Lib. 3, ch. viii. Exem. 7.*

‡ Suetonius, Aug. ch. ix.

§ These *Decurio*, if they chose it, might wear the purple, a broad stud of a Roman Senator; as it is evident from the 34th book of *Livy*, ch. vii. though not without being ridiculed for this vanity:—Thus *Horace* says of *Luscus*, “*Fundos, Aufideo Lusco præctine libenter, Linquimus, a insani ridentes præmia scribae, Prætextam, et latum clarum prunæque batillum.*” *Lib. 1. Sat. v.*

|| *Pliny's Epistles*, 19. lib. i.

Letters, and he was a *Roman Knight*, whose estate amounted to four hundred thousand Sesterces compleat, which *Dr. Middleton* in his life of Tully says, made three thousand two hundred and twenty-nine pounds of our money; and with us we had till lately a law of this kind. Every man who had forty pounds a year, in lands, being qualified to be a *Knight*, and from thence came the term of *Knight's-fee** with us; but as king Charles the first, † basely mis-used the law in his wants, compelling every man who had that qualification in land, to become a *Knight* or compound, it was, for that cause ranked among the chief grievances of his reign, and therefore was abolished by act of Parliament, at the restoration, as may be found in the histories and statutes of those days.

The learned CAMDEN ‡ notes that *Richard the*

* The Roman term *Equestres Census*, used by Suetonius, in his life of Julius Cæsar, ch. xxxiii. cannot be better, I think, rendered into our language, than by *knight's-fee*, and the service also required of those who had a knight's-fee was just the same as at Rome, viz. that they should appear in the war, with a horse compleatly armed as cavalry; Civaler, *i. e.* Equus saith Coke, is a Saxon Word, and by them written Chite. Chivaler, taketh his name from the horse, because they always served in wars on horse-back. The Latins called them Equites; the Spaniards, Cavalleroes, the French, Chivaliers; the Italians, Cavallieri; the Germans, Ritters; all from the horse.—See Coke on Knight's service, ch. iv. sect. ciii. p. 74.

† Clarendon speaking of this abuse, says, by this ill husbandry, the king received a vast sum of money, from all persons of quality, or indeed, of any reasonable condition, throughout the kingdom upon the law of knighthood, which though it had its foundation in right, yet in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous; and no less projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot.—Clar. vol. i. p. 67.

‡ Camden's *Britania*, p. 376.

Second advanced Michael de la Pole, a merchant to the honor of *Earl of Suffolk*, and made him chancellor of England; he was the son of *William de la Pole, the first Mayor of Kingston upon Hull*, who on account of his great wealth, had the dignity of a *Banneret* conferred upon him, and was also made *second Baron of the Exchequer, by Edward the Third*. "However," says *Camden*, "his being a merchant, did no how detract from his honor; for who knows not, that even our nobleman's sons have been merchants? nor will I deny, he was nobly descended, though a merchant."—This *Michael* was also knight of the garter, as *Vincent** in his *Review of Brooke* observes; and that he could not have been so at that time of day, by the Statutes of the order, had he not been a gentleman of three descents, as he was, being the son and grandson of a knight, but that knight a merchant; from whence, says he, it follows, that *mercatura non derogat nobilitati*, that is, *trade is no abatement of honor*. And as it here may be asked what constitutes a gentleman † with us? So the reply is

* *Vincent* on *Brooke*, p. 700.

† On the continent where absolute power prevails, it is held dishonorable to follow the professions of *law* or *physic*, or any trade; it being the power of absolute princes, to keep their subjects poor, whereby they make them dependant; for this purpose where the *civil law* prevails, (the low countries only excepted) few will bring their children up to these professions, or to any trade; because in most places of the continent, it is necessary in order to obtain certain posts, in the state, church, and army, that they make what they call their proof of *gentility*; that is, that they prove that their ancestors, by father and mother, for so many generations, have been of no pro-

easy; being a gentleman * is being entitled † to bear arms, and *Mr. Camden* observes, that the distinction of a gentleman of coat, armour, (of an upstart ‡) and a gentleman of blood, is the bearing of arms from the grand-father, § and that he who bears arms from his grand-father, is to all intents and purposes a

fession or trade, and so with regard to their chief orders of knight-hood, but that does not even extend to us; for the proof necessary to be made by an *Englishman*, who should require to be admitted a *knight of Malta*, where this matter is most strictly observed, is, that his ancestors bore arms, both by father and mother for so many generations, and this testimony must be under the seal of the college of arms, which is the proof of gentility required, as any man may know by enquiring of our heralds.—Vide also *Essay on Nobility*, page 114.

* *Notitia Anglicanæ*, p. 24—Also Judge *Dodderidge's Honors' Pedigree*, p. 147.—*Smith de Repub. Anglæ*, and *Fortescue*, p. 82.

† *Kirknerus* tells us, that the method of ennobling in the empire is, by giving a grant of arms, together with privileges appertaining to gentry: *Per insignium et armorum uti Vocant colationem, concessis una privilegiis, ordini usitatis*; which are generally limited to the heirs of the body; wherefore they call a granting arms, a *wappenbriffe*, from whence our term *weapon*, which means that kind of arms used against the enemies of the state; and to which those amongst us, as *Dugdale* affirms, who have been eminent for their military service, have commonly in their arms or crest some allusion. This custom was extremely antient; we meet with it in the life of *Artaxerxes*, who gave the person that killed *Cyrus* permission to wear a golden curl upon his helmet in token of his valor.—See *Plut. Vita Artax.* *Norden* informs us how the power of such grants belong to princes of the Empire. And *Di Casa Monaldesca* written by *Alonzo Caracelli*, sets forth the forms used in patents ennobling by the late Emperors.

‡ The meaning of upstart, as to nobility, being much too long for a note, is affixed at the end, by way of Appendix.

§ Any one who chuses to see a treatise on the rise of foreign nobility, will find *An. Matthæus's Discourse* thereon, to be well written.—See also *Bib. Univ.* vol. i. p. 76. Those who read the *Holy Scriptures* must needs observe, that the blessings of just men are often promised to extend to their *third or fourth generation*; and this is

gentleman of blood; * for which cause, it is requisite by the statutes † of the bath, that every knight before his admission, proves that he is so qualified; and when a knight of the bath has thus evidenced his qualification, for that most honorable order, it carries with it, (if his merit ‡ be equal to the thing) a pass-

sometimes called *for ever*, in *Holy Writ*; as GOD's promise to continue the throne of *Israel* in the house of *David* for *ever*, in effect only extended to the third generation. From whence we may perceive, that where there is so little certitude (as in this life) the folly of stretching those useless matters, to an unnecessary length, and perhaps fixing of compleat gentry, to only *three generations*, by the heralds, is not only founded in reason, (if there can be any in such questions) but is also grounded in some measures in passages in *Holy Writ*—See Dugdale's *Antient usage of bearing arms*, p. 33.

* It is evident that the antient *Romans* judged of gentility from having a *surname*, for those families who had acquired a *surname* from their ancestors, were esteemed a race of gentlemen; this appears from *Valerius Maximus*, his chapter on *surnames*; the words are *Quodper proprietatem dicitur hoc distat quia eo gens cognoscitur, idèd que dicitur gentilitium.*" *Val. Max. lib. 10. p. 500.* And with us the bearing of arms, which is tacked to names of families, the only standard of gentility, always implies, some real or supposed merit.—Of this, see *Hooker's History of England*, page 162, in Hollingshed.

† Statutes of the Bath, page 5. Although I do not pretend to say, that this rule has been broke through, with respect to any of the present knights of this order, yet, undoubtedly, the king, who is the fountain of honor, may dispense with this want of ability in the knights, in favor of merit; and though this maxim may not be relished by some, yet most true it is, as Ben Jonson says:—

“ That those who swell,—

“ With dust of Ancestors, in graves but dwell.”

‡ I think the term *merit* may be as much applied to traders, who deserve well of their country, as others; the original signification of merit, is wages paid in consideration of services; and from thence soldiers were said *merere*, (as *Budeus* tells us, from whence came the *merces*,) and mercenary troops or men who deserve their pay by their labour and danger; but, by degrees it came to signify no

port also to the order of the garter.—*The king** *having declared and ordained, that for the great love, favor, and confidence, he bears towards the knights of the bath, that a special regard shall be had in preferring, advancing, and presenting them to be companions of the most noble order of the garter.*

Guillim, in his chapter of *Gentlemen*, says, they have their beginning either of blood, as that they are born of worshipful parents, or that they have done something either in peace† or war; whereby they deserve to bear arms, and be accounted *Gentlemen*. He farther says, ch. 24, if a *Gentleman* be bound an apprentice to a merchant,‡ or other trade, he hath not thereby lost his gentility; and he desires it may be remembered § for the honour of trade, that *Henry VIII.* thought it no dishonour to him, when he quitted his queen, to take to wife, *Ann*, the daughter of *Thomas Bullen*, sometimes mayor of *London*.

LAMBARDE, in his *Perambulation of Kent*,|| tells us, that our *Saxon* ancestors, and their laws, were in high reputation for wisdom, and each was worthy

more than merely to attain a thing; and, in this opinion I am justified, as I shall shew that traders have at times been admitted to both the orders.—See *Bud. Annot. Reliq. in Pandectas*, p. 362.

* Statutes of the Bath, p. 45.

† See Description of England.—Hollingshed, vol. i. p. 161.

‡ See Judge Dodderidge's Honor's Pedigree, p. 150.—Also, 28 H. c. 2. Estoppel. 47.

§ Though *Guillim* calls her the daughter, I think she was the grand-daughter of *Sir Jeffery Bullen*.

|| Page 364.

in his degree, the *earle*, the *churle*, the *theyne*, and *under-theyne*. And if a *churle* so throve, says he, that he had five hides of land of his own, a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, and a seat in the king's hall, that then he was esteemed *a right worthy theyne*, and, if he afterwards so increased, that he served the king in his journeys, and thrice with his errand, had gone to the king, that then he became an *earle*, (and as is before observed,) if a merchant* so prospered, that he passed over the seas thrice on his own craft, he was thenceforward *a right worthy theyne*.

I next intend to set down the names of divers great traders, who have been advanced to high honours, or posts of great trust, by our respective princes; which may be found in the following list:—

Sir John Blunt, mayor of London, made knight of the bath, with Edward, Prince of Wales, 34th of Edward I.—See Wotton's *Baronets*, vol. iv. p. 675.

* That ingenious antiquary, JOHN WEAVER, seems to consider the term *merchant*, in two lights; first, him qui mare trajecit, who passes the seas; secondly, a merchant of the staple, who are the inland merchants of England, as carry their wools, woolseys, cloaths, lead, tin, &c. to the great towns or cities of this land, to sell by the great or wholesale; besides which, says he, there is a notable company of scanderouns, which greatly desire to be stiled merchants, and there are such that run from house to house, and from fair to fair, with packs or fardels, on their backs, with which they cheat and cozen country people. These are called pedlars, Quod pedes iter conficiunt, because they go on foot.—Weaver's *Fun. Mon.* p. 341, 342.

Sir Godfrey Fielding, mercer and mayor of London, 1452, was made of the Privy Council to *Henry VI.* and *Edward IV.*

Sir Thomas Cooke, draper and mayor, 1462, the 5th of *Edward IV.* was made *knight of the bath*, and afterwards a banneret by that king.

Sir Matthew Philip, goldsmith and mayor, 1463, was made a knight of the bath, and a banneret, the 10th of that reign.—*Weaver's Fun. Mon.* p. 269.

In 1464, *Sir John Gilliott*, merchant and lord mayor of York, was made a knight of the bath.—See a Catalogue of Mayors of York, printed by Step. Buckley, 1664, p. 28.

Sir Ralph Josline, draper and mayor, 1465, made knight of the bath, and after a banneret.—*Stow*, p. 419.

Henry Weaver, sheriff of London, 1461, made a knight of the bath.—*Weaver's Fun. Mon.* p. 269.—Also, *Stow's Ann.* p. 419.

Sir John Young, grocer, made a banneret in the field.

Sir William Horne, salter and mayor, 1487, made a banneret by *Henry VII.*

Sir John Percival, merchant, taylor, and mayor, 1490, made a banneret by *Henry VII.*

Sir John Shaw, goldsmith and mayor, made a banneret by *Henry VII.*

Sir John Allen, mayor, 1588, made a privy councillor by *Henry VIII.*—*Baker's Chronicle*, p. 296.

Sir Thomas Moore, sheriff of London, about the year 1513, was afterwards chancellor of England, and of the privy council to *Henry VIII.*—See *Hollingshed's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 711, 341, 938, &c.

Sir William Acton, made a knight and baronet, when sheriff of London, 1628.

Sir Thomas Adams, mayor, 1646, made knight and baronet; and since that time many great traders in every reign have been advanced to that dignity* which may serve to shew that trade with

* I am sensible that divers of our historians have insinuated that *King James I.* being in want of money, devised the order of *baronets*, to supply his extravagancies; but surely, we should consider rather what Quintillian (*Instit.* 101.) observes, that men should not be too free in their censure, lest it be in the end found, *that they condemn what they don't understand.* Nor has any one a fair right to offer a *private opinion*, against a *public record.* That of the order of *baronets* plainly shews it *to be derived from a military service in Ireland*; and any one who reflects in what a rebellious condition that nation continued, during the reign of *King James* and his *Son*, will certainly see a real necessity for this order: which was erected by *King James I.* 1611. The reason of the erection was, that the king taking regard to the quietness of Ireland, had granted to the city of *London*, in 1609, the present possession, and right of peopling of the province of *Ulster*, whereupon in the year 1612, they sent thither about three hundred people of all sorts of *handicrafts-men*, chiefly to people the city of *Londonderry*, and *Coleraine*; and Alderman *Cocaine* was the first governor. To back this wise appointment, the king created a new order of knights, which are called *baronets*, because they take place *next to barons' younger sons*, as (See *Essay on Nobility, Political and Civil*, p. 643.) *Le Neve Norroy Herald*, and *Morice Skelton*, tells us—And his Majesty appointed certain laws of admission, as they should maintain each of them the number of thirty foot soldiers in Ireland, for three years, to defend the province of *Ulster*, with leave, as *Selden* observes in *Tit. Hon.* to use the arms of *Ulster* in their escutcheons. So by this historical account, it plainly appears, that this honourable

us is oftentimes the high road to honour. And now I shall demonstrate from *Dugdale* and others, that many great traders have even been created peers of the kingdom, and that divers ancient peers are descended from great traders.

order in lieu of taking its rise from a mere court trick, is an honourable *Irish* military order, as the records of our kingdom, and the *Irish* badge they use, doth evidently shew; for this cause, I presume, this order has been frequently bestowed on divers eminent citizens, as the province of *Ulster* was granted to the city of *London*, who peopled the same, and appointed out of their venerable body, *Alderman Cocaine*, the first governor of *Ulster*. And, surely, if so many ample honours are maintained to the captains of this *Irish* province, whose rights they were erected to defend, the bestowing the honour itself on the chief directors of the city of *London*, (perhaps in itself of more account than the whole kingdom of *Ireland*;) will be judged by all reasonable men, a due and fit reward of their industry and merit. This order, I conceive, owes its rise to a hint of my Lord Bacon, in regard that I find in his *Proposals for the Plantation of Ireland*, delivered to King James, in 1606, the following passage:—"Considering the large territories which are to be planted, it is not unlike your majesty will think of raising some nobility there, which, if it be done, merely upon some new titles of dignity, having no manner of reference to the old, and it be done also, without putting too many portions into one hand; and, lastly, if it be done, without any great franchises or commands, I do not see any great peril can ensue thereof; as, on the other side, it is like it may draw some persons of great estate and means into the action, to the great furtherance and supply of the charges thereof; and lastly, for knighthood, to such persons as have not attained it; or otherwise knighthood, with some new difference and precedence, it may, no doubt, work with many."—*Bacon's Works*, vol. iv. p. 445.—This seems a very exact description of baronets, which is a middle order betwixt knights and nobles, having no franchise but rank annexed to it; and was also conceived by my Lord Bacon, some time before the erection of this *Irish* military order, and, at the head of which his family was put, which I think makes it very probable it was his invention.

It is affirmed by some historians, that *Robert Harding*, who was created *Baron Bunkley*, by *Henry*, was a citizen of *Bristol*.—Vide *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 58; and *Dugdale*, vol. i. p. 351.

Thomas Legge, citizen and skinner of London, was twice mayor thereof: he married *Elizabeth*, one of the daughters of *Thomas Beauchamp*, *Earl of Warwick*, which shews, that even in those dainty times, the first nobility thought it no degradation to mingle themselves with eminent traders. This *Thomas Legge* was direct ancestor to the *Earl of Dartmouth*.—Vide *Collins's Peerage*, vol. iii. p. 100.

Sir Michael de la Pole, merchant, created *Earl of Suffolk*, *Chancellor of England*, and *Knight of the Garter*.—Vide *Vincent on Brooke*, p. 700; and *Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 406.

Sir Stephen Brown, grocer, twice mayor of London, in 1433 and 1443, and ancestor to the *Lord Viscount Montague*.—See *Seymour*, vol. ii. p. 73 and 74; also, *Wotton's Baronets*, vol. iii. p. 5.

Thomas Bullen, grandson of *Jeffery Bullen*, mercer and mayor of London, created *Viscount Rochford*, and *Earl of Wiltshire*; on the tomb of which *Jeffery*, in *St. Laurence Jewry*, is this inscription:—*Hic incineratus corpus quondam Gaulfride Bullyne cives merceri et majoris London, qui ab luce migravit, Anno Dom. 1463, cujus amine paxsit perpetua*.—*Weaver's Fun. Mon.* p. 398.

Sir William Holles, mayor, in 1539, whose great grandson *Sir John Holles*, was created *Earl of*

Clare, and afterwards *Duke of Newcastle*.—*Dug. Bar.* p. 432.

Sir Edward Osborne, cloth-worker, and mayor of London, 1583, and ancestor of the present *Duke of Leeds*. This *Sir Edward Osborne* jumped out of a window into the *Thames*, to save his master's daughter's life, (who was afterwards his wife.)—See this story at large, attested by the late *Duke of Leeds*, in *Seymour's Survey of London*, vol. ii. p. 78.

Sir Baptista Hicks, mercer, of London, created *Lord Hicks*, and *Viscount Camden*, the fourth of *Charles I.* and is ancestor to the present *Earl of Gainsborough*.—*Dug. Bar.* p. 462.—*Wootton*, in his *Baronets*, p. 342, observes, that this *Sir Baptista Hicks*, was one of the first citizens that kept a shop after his knighthood; upon which, in 1607, he had some dispute with an alderman about it, and also a contest for precedency, standing on his knighthood, which matter came at last to be decided by the *Earl Marshal*.

Sir Ralph Dormer, mercer, was mayor of London, 1529, of which family was *Dormer*, Earl of Carnarvon; as is also the present *Lord Dormer*.—*Dug. Bar.* p. 428. Also, *Collins's Peerage*, vol. iv. p. 97.

Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and knight of the garter, son of ——— *Cromwell*, a blacksmith, of *Putney*.

Sir William Capell, draper, and mayor of London, in 1533, is ancestor of the present *Earl of Essex*.—

Seymour's Survey, vol. ii. p. 76. ; and *Dug. Bar.* vol. ii. p. 466.

Sir Richard Rich, mercer, and sheriff of London, Anno 1441, and ancestor of the *Rich's*, *Earls of Warwick*, and *Holland*, and the *Baronets*.—*Dug. Bar.* vol. ii. p. 387.

Sir John Coventry, mercer, and mayor of London, in 1425, and ancestor of the present *Earl of Coventry*.—*Dug. Bar.* vol. ii. p. 460.

Lionel Cranfield, merchant of London, was by *James I.* for his great abilities, made master of the requests, afterwards master of the king's wardrobe, then master of the wards, a privy counsellor, lord treasurer, and *Earl of Middlesex*.—*Lord Bacon's Letters*, vol. iv. p. 675, notes.

To this list might be added many more instances ;* but these may suffice, as *England* has few better houses amongst the nobility, than some of these families, and many of which titles still live in their descendants.

As therefore it cannot be doubted, but commerce is of the greatest advantage to a nation, so, in my opinion, the more country gentlemen breed their

* The Editor of *Hudibras*, in 1726, pretends, (I know not on what ground,) that the said — *Cromwell*, as well as *Pride*, were brewers ; but this I think erroneous, as *Cromwell* was bred up at Sidney College ; and yet *Sir William Calvert*, the Lord Mayor of this year, is a Brewer, a Doctor of Laws, and a Master of Arts, and was educated at Emanuel College.—I think I remember him a Fellow of Emanuel.—See *Hudibras*, p. 33.

younger children* to it, the likelier such families are to be continued, and become useful to the public. The importance of an idle, useless, younger brother, is very finely set forth by *Mr. Addison*, in his character of *Will Wimble*, who greatly laments the folly of some great families† that had rather see their children starve, like gentlemen, than thrive in a profession or trade, that they think is beneath their quality. This humour, says he, fills several parts of *Europe*, with pride and beggary.‡ But, it is the happiness of a trading nation like ours, that the younger sons, though incapable of any liberal art or profession, may be placed in such a way of life, as may, perhaps, enable them to vie with the best of their family. And here it may not be amiss to set down his further opinions in this affair.—“When I have been,” says he, “upon the Exchange, I have often fancied one of our old kings standing

* *Mr. Locke*, after recommending it to people to bring up their children to some trade, adds,—but if the mistaken parent, frightened with the name of trade, shall have an aversion to any thing of this kind in their children, yet he recommends the teaching them *merchant's accounts*, as a science well becoming every gentleman.—*Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 95, folio.

† *Lord Bacon* assigneth the true cause of this, in saying, that nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is.—*Bacon's Works*, vol. iii. p. 319, folio.

‡ *Lord Bacon* saith that trade enableth the subject to live, and live plentifully and happily; and that the realm is much enriched and benefitted by the trade or merchandize;—and elsewhere he stiles the merchants *Venu Porta*, and says, if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little.—*Bacon's Works*, p. 329, 578, 580, folio.

“ in person where he is represented in effigy, and
“ looking down upon the wealthy concourse of
“ people, with which that place is every day filled.
“ In this case, how would he be surprised to hear all
“ the languages of *Europe* spoke in this little spot
“ of his former dominions, and to see so many
“ private men, who in his time would have been the
“ vassals of some powerful baron, negotiating, like
“ princes, for greater sums of money, than were
“ formerly to be met with in his royal treasury !

“ Trade, without enlarging the *British* domi-
“ nions, has given us a kind of an additional
“ empire ; it has multiplied the number of our
“ riches, made our landed estates infinitely more
“ valuable than they were formerly, and added to
“ them an accession of other estates as valuable as
“ the land themselves.”—And, in another place, he
says, “ it is the great advantage of a trading nation,
“ as there are very few in it so dull and heavy,
“ who may not be placed in stations of life which
“ may give them an opportunity of making their
“ fortunes. A well-regulated commerce is not like
“ law, physic, or divinity, to be over-stocked with
“ hands ; but on the contrary, flourishes by multi-
“ tudes, and gives employment to all its professors.
“ Fleets of merchantmen, are so many squadrons of
“ floating shops, that vend our wares and manu-
“ factures in all the markets of the world, and find
“ out chapmen under both the Tropics.”

The learned Bishop of Cambray* gives us also his sentiments on this subject in the character of *Narbal*, in his account of the *Phenicians*, by whom it is conceived this learned archbishop meant the *English*. “You see,” says he, “the power of the *Phenicians*, who have rendered themselves puissant to all their neighbouring nations, by the grandeur of their fleets: Trade, which they carry to the further quarters of the earth, has so enriched them, that they surpass the most flourishing people in glory.” And, again, instructing *Telemachus*† how to establish a flourishing trade in *Ithaca*,—“Do,” says he, “as these people do; receive with kindness and with ease, all strangers; let them find in your harbours safety and convenience, free from restraint, and never suffer yourself to be overcome at any time, either with pride or avarice; the true way to get much, is never to be too covetous, and even sometimes to forego gain. Make yourself beloved of all strangers, and even bear with slight inconveniences from them; fear to excite jealousy from your pride; be steadfast to follow the laws of commerce, which are simple and easy, and suffer not your subjects on any account to infringe them; keep a strict hand over the fraud, negligence, or vain glory of the merchants, which ruins commerce, in ruining the traders themselves; and

* Vide *Les Aventures de Telemaque*, lib. iii. p. 86. † Page 103.

“ above all things, never attempt to confine commerce
 “ to your own proper interest.”

This may be sufficient to shew how clearly this great bishop saw the advantage accruing from a free trade ; and his countrymen the *French*, have very greatly increased theirs, by following many of these wise maxims, to our infinite disadvantage.

But even foreigners themselves make a very great distinction and difference in our favour, betwixt an *English* trader and those of other nations. To this effect, writes the *Baron de Pollnitz*, a person well known in most of the courts of *Europe*. “ In *England*,” says he, “ the nobility intermarry with traders’ daughters, as they do in *France* ; however, a great distinction should be made betwixt the one and the other. In *England*, merchants are sometimes sprung of the greatest houses in the kingdom, and it has often happened, that younger branches of noble families, who have been brought up to trade, by the right of succession, have become peers ; and frequently it falls out, that when a lord espouses a merchant’s daughter, she may be his cousin, or at least, a lady of a good family.—Whereas in *France*, it is always the daughter of a *Roturier*.”* As to which may be the best trade

* We hardly know this expression in English ;—*Roturier* means, born of the dregs of the people, yet the term was anciently used here in tenure of land, as *Fief Roturier*, or rather inheritance *Roturies*, in opposition to Knight’s-fee, as holding, or socage.—See *Somner on Gavalkynd*, p. 49.

to follow to acquire a fortune, I leave that to be considered by such who from the usage of these matters, may be better able to speak thereon; and all I shall say on that subject is, that I think the list that *Tully** gives us of base trades, may be now also very justly so esteemed, as unfit for the practice of any gentleman; such are truly pitiful and low, as purvey and cater for luxury, as *fishmongers*, *butchers*, *cooks*, &c., as *Terence* reckons them up; to these he adds also, *perfumers*, *dancing-masters*, and those who supply us with dice and cards.

Thus have I accomplished my purpose, of laying together in one general view, the sentiments of divers great men, both ancient and modern, on this subject. And, as on the one hand, I expect no applause therefrom, so I am also sure on the other, I cannot acquire the least degree of blame, being herein rather a searcher into other men's opinions, than a fond deliverer of my own; for, as an author observes, it would be madness of a man to go out of the right way, only because it has been frequented by others, or is perhaps the high road. And I shall comfort myself in that maxim of *Pliny* the elder, *that no book was ever yet so bad, but something of use might be gathered from it.*

* *Tully's Offices*, lib. i. p. 62.—Victuallers, Tavern-men, Bakers, or Bracium, *i. e.* Brewers are excepted, from being Aldermen, or Mayor; but this must mean common Brewers, or Ale-men.—See *Seymour's Survey of London*, vol. ii. p. 37;—also, p. 35, he says, such who formerly kept drinking or Ale-houses.

APPENDIX,

(Referring to the third Note, Page 35.)

NOBILITY, amongst the ancient Romans, derived itself from the right of having images* or statues, which were decreed by the senate to such only who had been great officers, or worthily deserved some great honour from their public services. Thus *Tully* speaking of *Piso*, expresses his only merit to be *Commendatione fumosarum imaginum*, in *L. Cat. Pis.* 1; and in his third *Cat.* 10, he tells *Lentulus*, that he sealed his letter with the image† of his ancestor, that deserved so well of his country:—*Est vero inquam signum, quidam notum, imago avitui clarissimi vire, qui amavit unice patuam, et cives suos.* And speaking of *Brutus*, in his 2d *Phi.* 26, he says,

* Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus.—Hor. Sat. 6. lib. i.

† *Dion Cassius* takes notice, that *Augustus*, at first, used the figure of a sphinx in his seal, but afterwards, his own image, which was also used by the other emperors, except *Galba*, who used that of his ancestors, which was a dog peeping out of the prow of a ship.—See *Xiphilius Abridgment of Dion Cassius*.

Brutos ego impellerem quorum uterque L. Bueti imaginem quotidie videret. And *Pliny* tells us, that they had the images of their ancestors in their courts, which were used at their burials, and shewed the public services of their ancestors :—*Apud majores imagines in atrijs erant, quæ spectarentur expressi vultus singulis disponebantur armarijs, ut essent imagines quæ comitarentur gentilia funera.* Semperque defuncto aliquo, totus aderat familiæ ejus qui unquam fuerat populus. Ammata vero lincis discurrebantur ad imagines pietas ; tablina vero codicibus implebantur, et monumentis rerum, et magistratuum gestorum.* From whence it is plain that they used their images, as we do our arms ; for arms with images or supporters is the badge of nobility with us, and are erected generally in the courts of all great houses, and are used also at the burials of the dead ; and those who obtained the right of these images brought nobility into their house ; for, as *Sallust*—*Ex virtute nobilitas cepit.* Thus *Marius* defending himself against the pride of the nobility, fortifies himself by renumerating his services, *Hæ* (says he,) *sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hereditate relicta ;* and adds, that the nobility despise him, *quia imagines non habes, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est Sall. Bell. Jug. c. 85.* And then he tells the people that the nobility had *Majorus eorum omnia, quæ licebat illis reliquere, divitias, imagines,*

* Thus *Tully* complains that his enemy *Clodius* was buried without his images :—*tu spoliatum imaginibus,* and that *Gallus* had the same hard fate :—*ut sine imaginibus, sine cantu, &c.—Cic. pro Mil. 34, 88.*

memoriam, sui præ claram. That man, therefore, who first entertained the *Senate*, and was not born of a noble family, that had borne before any public office, and was entitled to use images, however rich or ancient his family might be, was nevertheless deemed an *Upstart*, or *New Lord*. Thus *Tully*, who came by the father of a Roman knight, descended, as some affirm, from *Tullius Attius*,* an illustrious king of the *Volscii*; but as *Dr. Middleton*,† perhaps with more truth, writes, though his family had never borne any great office of the Republic, yet it was very ancient, and of principal nobility and distinction in that part of *Italy* in which it resided; and of equestrian rank from its first admission to the freedom of *Rome*; yet being newly ennobled from his admission into the Senate, he is therefore, by all the Roman writers, and by himself also, considered as an *Upstart*, or *New Lord*. *Per hæc tempora*, (says *Paterculus*,) *M. Cicero qui omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit: vic nobilitatis nobilissimæ, et vitæ clarius ita ingenio maximus*, lib. ii. ch. 34. Nay, they even thought that he polluted the consulship by his base birth; and before they had need of him in *Cataline's* conspiracy, would, by no means admit him to that honour: *Namque antea pleræque nobilitas invidia Æstuebat, et quasi pollui consulatam credebat si eum, quam vis egregius, homo novius adeptus feret.*—*Sallust. Bell. Cat.* 43. And, in like case,

* See *Plut. Vit. Cicero*.

† *Midd. Life of Cicero*, p. 3.

speaking of *Marius*, whom some record to have been born in the order of knights, he says,—*Etiam tumultuosos magistratus plebes consulatum nobilitas intense per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarius, neque tam egregius factis eret, quia is indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus haberetur.*—Sall. Bell. Jug. 179.

“ At that time, although the people might aspire to
 “ the other offices, yet the consulship was kept by
 “ the nobility in their own hands, and however
 “ famous an *upstart* might make himself, yet a man
 “ of that sort, they judged unworthy of this supreme
 “ honour, and even thought he would have polluted
 “ the office.” And *Tully* himself, notwithstanding the ancient knightly race he was heir to, considered himself no otherwise than an *upstart*, as in his 1st Cat. 28, he says, that without any recommendation from his birth, he had been raised to all the supreme offices of the republic, *Nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit.* And, in his *Piso*, 1st and 9th, he styles himself, in plain terms, an *upstart*; *homini novi*, and says, I owe my rise, *non majoribus meis; virtuti perspectæ non auditæ nobilitate deferebat.* And in his 7th letter to *Lentulus*, he declares, that he begins to alter his mind, in that hitherto he had conceived he was envied, because he was an *upstart*; for that he saw *Lentulus*, sprung from the first nobility, envied like himself—*simul quod video, non ut anti hac putabam, novitate esse invisum meæ, in te enim homine omnium nobilissimo similia invidorum vitia perspexi.*

Epist. ad Lent. 7, lib. prim. Nor in this case, did the Romans make any distinction betwixt new men raised from the dregs of the people, or from ancient knightly families, as *Cicero* himself uses:—*sed innumerabilia quædam nova ex omni facere urbis, ac servitio Constituta.* And, in his second speech against *Piso*, first speaking of *Syrius*, a man raised from the dunghill to the consulship, he still uses the term—*De grege novitiorum, factus-est, Consulem.* And *Paterculus*, speaking of *Titus Coruncarius*, an *upstart* consul, adds to his examples *Sp. Corvilius*, a Roman knight; *M. Cato Mummius*, and others, chap. cxxviii. Of this *Mummius*, he treats more fully in his 14th chap. lib 1, and says, he was the first *upstart*, that received the surname of a country,—*nec quisquam ex novis hominibus prior Mummio cognomen virtute partum vindicavit*: he represents this man so very low and barbarous, that when he took *Corinth*, he agreed with the people who where to transport the ancient statues and pictures to Rome, that where done by the best Grecian masters, that, in case they lost any of these rare matters they should return new ones in their place:—*Si eas perdissent novas eos reddituros.* It is certain the Romans held all as *upstart* families, who had not evidenced their worth, by some particular service done the state, whereby they might deserve public regard; nor has the Roman language any other term for *upstart*, than *novus homo** *vel novitus*, and which is used in all

* See Mons. L'Abbé Mongault's 25 note in *Cicero's* 10th letter to *Atticus*—also letter 13, note 28.

the above cases, without a jot of distinction betwixt an *antient*, or altogether new families; for they only considered such as noble, or of a noble race, as had passed through the public offices of the senate, which is fully explained by Græcius. *Nam-nec questura, nec tribunatus plebis nobilitabat. Novies homo vero nullus appellabatur, nisi qui princeps nobilitatem in suam domum intulisset.* For it neither ennobled a man to be *Quæstor* or *Tribune*; no man was justly called an *upstart*, but he that first introduced into his family, the supreme offices of nobility,—Cic. verb. p. 612, note 7. And our law also, before nobilitation, considers every one on a common footing, as the best gentleman in the land is only tried by his peers,* which even in cases of life, are oftentimes of all low trades, (except butchers) the necessary qualifications of a jurymen only requiring that he should be a freeholder,† or, in other words, that he should have forty shillings *per annum*. To this effect speaks *Coke*,—"The true distinction of persons is, that every man is either of nobility, (that

* The trial of bishops is by juries, perhaps, because they are considered as noble in office only, and not in blood.—See Wood's Inst. book 1, ch. iv.—Trial of Bishops—also Baronies, by Writ, p. 124.

† *Skene* de verbor. significat, verb. *milites*, saith that, by the ancient laws of *Scotland*, *freeholders* were called *milites*, *knights*, Statu. of Alex. 2, ch. ii. vii. which seems also to have been a custom with us as the chief gentleman or *freeholders* in every country, (in regard that they held by knight's service) are stiled *chavaliers milites*, in the Stat. of *Westminster*, ch. i. x. touching the choice of Coroners; and *Bracton*, lib. 3, tract. 2, ch. i. no. 2, saith that knights must be in juries, which turn *freeholders* do now serve.—See also *Glavil*, lib. 15, ch. clxxix.—Also *Coke on Rank*, lib. 2, ch. xii. note (e.)

“ is a lord of parliament of the upper house) or under
 “ the degree of nobility, amongst the commons ;—the
 “ commons are knights, esquires, citizens, and burges-
 “ ses ; and he that is not of nobility, is by entendement
 “ of law, amongst the commons.” *Coke of Fee Simp.*
 lib. 1, note (e,) so by our law, every man is on a level,
 that is no peer—I mean by that, is in no better footing
 as to the law, than a *cobler*; therefore, he who is first
 ennobled, may fitly be termed a *new man*, a man
 newly set above his fellows, this

In Shakespear,

(*Gloucester speaking of the Queen and Shore's Wife,*)

The jealous o'erworn widow and herself
 Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen.

Richard the Third, p. 293.—Pope's

And the queen's kindred are made gentle-folks.—p. 294.

(*Gloucester to the Queen herself.*)

Since every Jack became a gentleman,
 There's many a gentle person made a Jack ;
 Myself disgrac'd and the nobility,
 Held in contempt, while many great promotions
 Are daily given, to ennoble those
 That scarce, some two days since were worth a noble.—p. 306.

Sir Philip Sydney * after the Roman fashion, stiles
 bringing the first noble image into the house. In
Edward the Fourth's time, the court was divided into
 the *old* and *new* nobility, and any one who inspects
 the writers of those days, will find that the *antient*

* Answer to the Memoirs of *Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester*.

nobility accounted the *new* upstarts; which, indeed, I believe, has been the case* in all ages and countries. And one may plainly see, that the *Grey's*, *Woodvill's*, and some other families that were then newly made noble, although of antient and knightly descent, were, nevertheless, at that time of the day esteemed *new men*. Clarendon, speaking of *Villiers*, duke of *Buckingham* says, that the king's favour to that duke, equally disobliged the *old* nobility, and people of all conditions, in that the royal favour was bestowed on a family, however old, and even of a line who deduced themselves from the Conquest, yet was it a race, which was never heard of before in the nation; from whence it is plain, that noble author classes the *Villiers's* in the rank of *novi homines*. Nor indeed am I ashamed (especially in such company) to declare myself to be of that opinion; for what is the antiquity† of any man's race to the public, or a third person? And I have sometimes thought that the difference of an *old* and a *great* family, would not be improperly considered in the following light:—that the first should be weighed

* Lord Bacon well observes, that men of noble birth, are noted to be envious towards *new men*, when they rise, for the distance is altered; and, it is like a deceit of the eye; that when others come in, they think themselves to go back.—*Bacon's Works*, vol. iii. p. 311, folio.

† Go, if your ancient, but ignoble blood,
Has crept through scoundrels, ever since the flood;
Go and pretend your family is young,
Nor own your father's have been fools so long.—

Fourth Essay on Mankind, 201, &c.

against some antient and unprofitable *idol*, worshipped for age and very antiquity, by its partizans, neighbours, and dependants; yea, even and curiously observed by all men for its rust; but the praise on the other part, is like to that given a true *Deity*, who, from age to age, doth make appear his great, lasting, and steady glory; and from time to time, as need shall require, delivers help, and supports those that cry unto him.



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Printed by W SMITH and Co. King Street, Seven Dials.



